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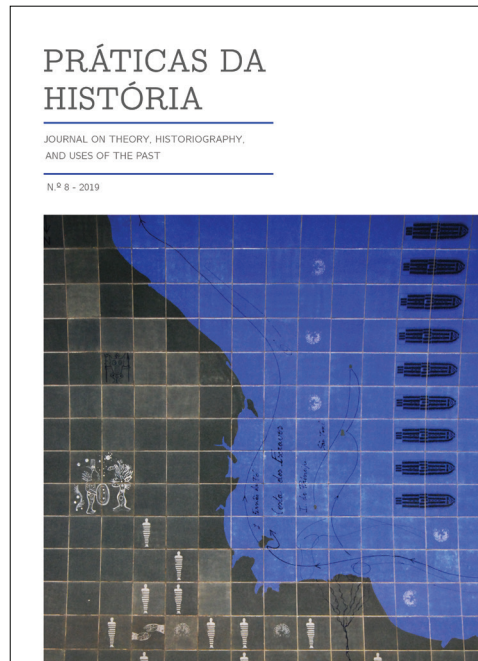
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# **British participation in the quincentenary commemorations of the death of Prince Henry ‘the Navigator’ (1960)**

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and Stefan Halikowski Smith**

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In 1960, Portugal celebrated the five-hundredth anniversary of the death of Prince Henry, a heroic figure acclaimed for his role in the early maritime discoveries. The celebrations lasted several months and were sponsored by the Portuguese state. They included a wide variety of diplomatic, academic and cultural initiatives. These festivities were used as an opportunity to unite the Portuguese populous in the face of various potential threats to the Estado Novo which surfaced during this time. Although they were dismissed by the British foreign office, the Royal Navy and Royal Air Force took the opportunity to participate in a heavily publicized naval review as their ‘oldest ally.’ A variety of Anglo-Portuguese exchanges occurred in the academic world through a series of state-sponsored history anthologies, an international conference and reciprocal exhibitions on the topic of the Portuguese discoveries. This paper looks at some key individuals that facilitated these exchanges in Britain using the correspondence that they left behind. It shows international outreach in the Estado Novo’s official program of celebrations and the pragmatic management of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance.

Keywords: Cultural commemoration; Anglo-Portuguese relations; Infante Dom Henrique of Portugal; Portuguese New State.

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**A participação britânica nas comemorações do quinto  
centenário da morte de Dom Henrique, ‘o Navegador’ (1960)**

Em 1960, Portugal comemorou o quinquagésimo aniversário da morte do príncipe D. Henrique, uma figura heróica aclamada pelo seu papel nas descobertas marítimas do século XV. Durante vários meses, as celebrações foram patrocinadas pelo Estado português e incluíram uma grande variedade de iniciativas diplomáticas, académicas e culturais. Essas festividades foram usadas pelo Estado Novo como uma oportunidade para unir a população portuguesa perante potenciais ameaças ao regime durante esse período. Embora o acontecimento tenha sido desvalorizado pelo Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros britânico, a Marinha Real e a Força Aérea Real britânica aproveitaram a oportunidade para participar num desfile naval muito propagandeado ao ‘aliado mais antigo’ de Portugal. As trocas anglo-portuguesas ocorreram também no mundo académico através de uma série de antologias de história patrocinadas pelo Estado, uma conferência internacional e exposições sobre o tema das descobertas portuguesas. Usando trocas de correspondência pessoal, este artigo analisa alguns indivíduos-chave, revelando o alcance internacional do programa de celebrações do Estado Novo e a gestão pragmática da aliança anglo-portuguesa. Palavras-chave: Comemoração cultural; relações anglo-portuguesas; Infante Dom Henrique; Estado Novo português.

# British participation in the quincentenary commemorations of the death of Prince Henry ‘the Navigator’ (1960)

Benjamin R. J. Jennings\*  
and Stefan Halikowski Smith\*\*

In September 1960, the British Museum held a two-month exhibition entitled ‘Prince Henry the Navigator and Portuguese Maritime Enterprise.’ This was organised by a committee of academics in London to coincide with the more grandiose festivities occurring in Portugal. That year the ‘New State’ (*Estado Novo*) sponsored a range of celebrations to mark five hundred years since the death of *Infante dom Henrique*, known since Charles Beazley’s biography of 1894 in the English-speaking world as Prince Henry ‘the Navigator.’<sup>1</sup> The celebrations in his name took place between the dates of his birth and death; from 4<sup>th</sup> March to 13<sup>th</sup> November. The festivities were funded by the government and organised by a special temporary commission called the *Comissão Executiva das Comemorações do Quinto Centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique*. The commemorations included coins and medals released by the *Banco de Portugal*, stamps, firework displays, flower displays, processions on land and river, openings of civic buildings, films and pilgrimages (*romagens*) that took place over eight

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1 C.R. Beazley, *Prince Henry the Navigator. The Hero of Portugal and Modern History, 1394-1460. With an Account of Geographical and Modern Progress Throughout the Middle Ages as the Preparation for His Work* (New York/London: G.P. Putnam & Sons, 1894). Since Peter Russell’s respected biography this title has tended to be put in quotes. See Peter Russell, *Prince Henry ‘the Navigator’; A Life* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2000).

months. Other preparations were made to showcase the Sagres promontory, and efforts were made to restore the 'Casa do Infante', the Sé Cathedral and parts of the Castelo de São Jorge.<sup>2</sup> There were also events which were part of much larger diplomatic, academic and cultural initiatives.

Prince Henry was re-appropriated as the initiator and standard-bearer for Portuguese expansion, in a mission which was being fulfilled by the *Estado Novo* five hundred years later. This was not unusual; Henry has been remodelled to serve the purposes of various ruling elites throughout Portugal's history.<sup>3</sup> Over time Henry has been elevated variably to statuses of icon of chivalry, Portuguese national spirit, a pioneer of modernity and the spread of civilisation.<sup>4</sup> Only in recent years has this process of re-modelling been examined as a phenomenon in its own right. Peter Russell, a scholar who was active during the 1960 commemorations, advocated this view and challenged many of the preconceptions of Henry on historical grounds.<sup>5</sup> He conceived Henry as a 'culture hero'; someone who took on the idealised characteristics of Portuguese culture over time.<sup>6</sup> In keeping with this tradition, a version of Henry was created in order to suit the pressing political purposes of the *Estado Novo* in 1960. It was not the first *centenário* in his memory: the fifth centenary of Henry's birth in 1894 was celebrated fervently in Portugal, a country in need of restoring hurt national pride after the Ultimatum of 1890 had forced the retreat

<sup>2</sup> "Naval Parade Off Portugal," *The Times*, August 9, 1960, 6. *The Times Digital Archive*.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Russell, *Prince Henry 'the Navigator': A Life* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2000), 3.

<sup>4</sup> See Ivana Elbl, "Henry 'the Navigator'," *Journal of Medieval History* 27, n.º 1 (2002): 79-99.

<sup>5</sup> For example, in his 1960 Canning house lecture he challenged Prince Henry's role as a champion of science, see P.E. Russell, *Prince Henry the Navigator, Canning House Seventh Annual Lecture* (London: The Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Councils, 1960). For more discussion on Russell's contributions to Portuguese historiography, see Maria Cristina Pimenta, "Sir Peter Russell and Portuguese History: The Story of a Great Passion," *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 5, n.º 1 (2007). Also Stefan Halikowski Smith, "Obituary: Sir Peter E.L. Russell," *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 5, n.º 1 (2007).

<sup>6</sup> P.E. Russell, *Prince Henry the Navigator: The Rise and Fall of a Culture Hero, Taylorian Special Lecture 10 November 1983* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984). See also Maria Isabel João, *O Infante D. Henrique na Historiografia* (Lisbon: Grupo de Trabalho do Ministério da Educação para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1994).

of Portuguese military forces from territories claimed in Africa since the Discoveries.<sup>7</sup> But it had been also celebrated in England with the Royal Geographical Society holding events in the University of London, which dignitaries like the Duke of York and the future Lord Curzon of India attended –Henry is portrayed against the political backdrop of New Imperialism as a ‘figura portuguesa, adoptada e assimilada como inglesa, para incentivar o espírito de aventura’.<sup>8</sup>

Portugal celebrated numerous centenary commemorative events between 1880 and 1960.<sup>9</sup> Only in recent years has this been studied in any detail by historians in Portugal. The approach so far has also been modern; one evidently influenced by cultural studies and seeks to understand the ideology and political purpose behind these commemorative events. This ideology has been theorised in several different ways. Eduardo Lourenço has seen this obsession with the past as a kind of ‘hyperidentity’, a series of images produced by Portugal about itself, always revealing an obsession with the “Camonian” titles of Portugal’s planetary vocation from the 16th century’.<sup>10</sup> Luís Trindade has looked at nationalism, where the growth of a dynamic but alienating modern urban society across northern Europe became seen as a threat to the continent’s authentic and traditional rural hinterland where religion continued to hold sway. It is here, he argues, that Portugal was able to provide for itself a kind of mission in the modern world, presenting itself as a ‘moral saviour’ for Europe, one extending over its overseas territories.<sup>11</sup> Certainly, the *Henrique* commemorations can be seen in a

7 Maria Isabel João, *Memória e Império. Comemorações em Portugal (1880-1960)* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/FCT, 2002).

8 Maria Teresa Pinto Coelho, “Biografia, Comemoração e Império: o Infante D. Henrique, um Vitoriano na Inglaterra finis secular,” in *Os Descobrimentos no Mundo de Língua Inglesa*, ed. Maria Teresa Pinto Coelho and John Darwin (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2005), 47-75.

9 Maria Isabel João, “Public Memory and Power in Portugal (1880-1960),” trans. Landeg White, *Portuguese Studies* 18 (2002): 96-120.

10 Eduardo Lourenço, *Do Colonialismo como Nosso Impensado* (Lisbon: Gradiva, 2014), 277. For some discussion, see Elsa Peralto, “Fictions of a Creole Nation: (Re)Presenting Portugal’s Imperial Past,” in *Negotiating Identities: Constructed Selves and Others*, ed. Helena Vella Bonavita (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2011), 197.

11 See Luís Trindade, *O estranho caso do nacionalismo Português: o salazarismo entre a literatura e a política* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2008).

wider context of nationalism and the New State (*Estado Novo*.) Public festivities of this kind were promoted by the *Estado Novo* as a tool of upholding the regime.<sup>12</sup>

This cycle of commemoration is interesting for two reasons: it represented a critical moment in the stability of the *Estado Novo*, and that the commemorations included significant participation from British actors in a variety of forms. The *Henrique* commemorations were aimed at a domestic Portuguese audience (including by extension the overseas territories), but they also took place on an international stage. This international element is something which has not received appropriate recognition in the literature. This paper attempts to address this situation by looking specifically at the participation of Britain. The celebrations in 1960 were supported and legitimised by the involvement of Britain alongside other states such as Brazil. Studying this outside perspective provides a useful window onto the Anglo-Portuguese relationship both inside and outside of the state. The paper is separated into three core arguments. Firstly, that British participation in the commemorations had useful political purposes for both respective governments and formed part of their diplomatic relationship. Secondly, that academics were important agents in this engagement, and the results of this exchange can be traced in the historiography. Finally, that pressures within the *Estado Novo* at this time came to dominate both diplomatic relations and the wider public discourse surrounding this commemorative cycle.

### **Commemoration and diplomacy; the rationale for British engagement**

British participation in the commemorations reveals some interesting aspects of Anglo-Portuguese diplomacy. In Portugal, there was a desire for international participation to enrich and legitimise the commemorations. This was

<sup>12</sup> See for example David Corkhill and José Carlos Pina Almeida, "Commemoration and Propaganda in Salazar's Portugal: The Mundo Português Exposition of 1940," *Journal of Contemporary History* 44, n.º 3 (2009).

realised in a few spectacular events during the climax of the commemorations. For Britain, the commemorations offered an opportunity to reaffirm diplomatic relationships, military cooperation and inspire future trading potential.

To begin, Britain and Portugal have been engaged in what could be considered one of the oldest active alliance between nation states dating back by treaty to 1373, the Treaty of Windsor, and this ‘continuous’ political friendship was reconfirmed in 1353, 1372, 1373, 1386, 1643, 1654, 1660, 1661, 1703 and 1815.<sup>13</sup> The Anglo-Portuguese alliance (*Aliança Inglesa*) has not always been followed explicitly throughout history and both sides have often opted to utilise or ignore agreements where necessary; witness, for example, the tensions between João IV and Cromwell’s party at a time Portugal sorely needed English military assistance in fighting the *Guerras da Restauração*.<sup>14</sup> Diplomatic relations with Britain during this time were good, cemented by an ‘international goodwill’ state visit from the Queen in February 1957 (one of many post-Suez fence-mending royal visits of that year) in which she inspected troops, visited the model Restelo housing project, met President Craveiro Lopes (himself a recipient of the Order of the Bath and Royal Victorian Chain) and Mayor Barreto of Lisbon. Footage from the British Pathé Press and Movietone News shows crowds following her every move, and a public holiday was declared in her honour.



Figure 1. HM The Queen and Prince Philip arrive in Portugal. [State visit to Portugal, 1957] Feb 1957. Royal Collection Trust :IN 2003580

<sup>13</sup> *600 Years of Anglo-Portuguese Alliance* (London: British Museum, 1973), 7, 15.

<sup>14</sup> Stefan Halikowski Smith, “The Portuguese Wars of Restoration, 1641-1668. Lessons for Brexit,” British Academy Mid-Career Fellowship Reference: MF18\180357 (September 2018).



Another important factor for the British government was Anglo-Portuguese trade. Portugal was a poor country (during this period Portugal's per capita GDP was only 38 percent of the European Community (EC-12) average), but showed attempts to broaden the economy, and manage it better as the bold 1959-64 six-year development plan testifies.<sup>15</sup> Both countries were also signatories to EFTA (initiated 12 Jan 1960, established 3 May 1960). Harold Macmillan's second government (1959-1963) was keen to pursue trading links.<sup>16</sup> British commitment to trade in Portugal can be demonstrated by the 1959 fair of the Federation of British Industries, billed by *The Times* as the 'biggest Lisbon Trade Fair'.<sup>17</sup> As well as economic interest, it also included a large amount of military participation. What followed was 'a friendly invasion' of Portugal by the British Army, Navy and Air Force, which took place between 29 May and 14 June. Aircraft carrier *H.M.S. Centaur*, three destroyers and a frigate, a contingent of 410 officers and men of the British Army staged a military tattoo, highland dancing and acrobatics. The RAF put on an aerobatic display of Hawker Hunters on the Portuguese national day (*Dia da Raça*) of June 10<sup>th</sup>. This coincided with a visit by Princess Margaret, and an international football match between Portugal and Scotland.<sup>18</sup> The Federation of British Industries donated 100,000 Escudos (through H.M. ambassador Stirling) to the Portuguese Minister of Defence Botelho Moniz, intended for military charities and in recognition of cooperation in the Anglo-Portuguese military tattoo.<sup>19</sup>

Conditions were ripe for further engagement with Britain, after a period described by the Foreign Office's annual review as one with

15 See Eric N. Baklanoff, "The political economy of Portugal's later Estado Novo: a critique of the stagnation thesis," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 29 (1992).

16 See for example Harold Macmillan's argument in favour of the British Trade Fair in Lisbon. In "British Trade Fair, Lisbon," *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 12 Feb. 1959, vol 599, cc1354-5. url: <<https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1959/feb/12/british-trade-fair-lisbon>> [Acc. Feb 2019].

17 "Biggest Lisbon Trade Fair," *The Times*, Apr. 10, 1959, 11.

18 The final score was 1-0 to Portugal. "Hope of British Trade Revival in Portugal," *The Times*, May 8, 1959, 15.

19 C.N. Stirling, annual review for 1959, to Foreign Office, London, 5<sup>th</sup> January, 1960, in "Annual Review for 1959," *The National Archives*: FO 371/153098.

notably renewed ‘cordiality.’<sup>20</sup> The commemorations in 1960 offered the opportunity for more engagement. In Portugal there was a desire for international recognition, which may be understood both as concomitant to Portugal’s joining the United Nations in the mid-1950s and breaking its isolation, and as a reaction to the recent political challenges to Salazar by Delgado in 1958.<sup>21</sup> There were external pressures on Portugal to decolonise which heightened the need for recognition and legitimacy. This was voiced in the UN, and elsewhere on the international stage included legal action from India against the legitimacy of Portugal’s imperial claims over Goa (1955-1960).<sup>22</sup>

The commemorations in 1960 were funded by the government and organised by a special temporary commission called the *Comissão Executiva das Comemorações do Quinto Centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique*.<sup>23</sup> Organisation started as early as 1954 in the form of various decrees and ordinances. It was led by the President of the *Academia Portuguesa da História* and nineteen members representing various institutions; six commissions and four subcommissions were formed. Regional delegations were named in eleven towns and cities and collaborators were brought in to execute twelve pre-announced projects.<sup>24</sup>

It was the *Comissão das Comemorações* who had the responsibility to champion this iteration of *Dom Henrique* in 1960. Cruz Coelho has analysed the ‘credo ideológico’ of the Commission at closer quarters, as enunciated in a lengthy published disquisition on the part of its president full of terminology like *fé*, *orgulho patriótico*, *missão coloni-*

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>21</sup> See “A New Opposition: Humberto Delgado and the Bishop of Oporto,” in Filipe Ribeiro de Meneses, *Salazar: A Political Biography* (New York: Enigma Books, 2009), 422-50.

<sup>22</sup> At the Hague the Indian government had been pressing a case against the legitimacy of Goa. See “Right of Passage over Indian Territory (Portugal v. India),” International Court of Justice, The Hague, url: <<https://www.icj-cij.org/en/case/32?fbclid=IwAR1wx9WpheuMx7TrCgBleZbkLc-NXAduhxYlys7lO5Ja2CbV4AV8unODhNfY>> [Acc. 2/5/2019].

<sup>23</sup> Henceforth shortened to *Comissão das Comemorações*.

<sup>24</sup> Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, “O Infante D. Henrique em Comemorações de morte e vida no século XX,” *Revista de Ciências Históricas* IX (1994): 137.

*zadora, comprometimento nacional*.<sup>25</sup> The value of commemoration was tied to the promotion of an international mission which *Dom Henrique* came to represent. This ideology was most explicit in the religious ceremony which closed the commemorations on November 13<sup>th</sup> 1960. This was held at the Batalha monastery; built to commemorate the Portugal's decisive victory against Castile in 1385 and the burial site of the house of Aviz. It is a site of immense sentimental value, which holds the tomb of Prince Henry himself. In the closing speeches the head of the commission and former foreign minister, Professor Caeiro da Matta, quoted the writings of Salazar saying:

“We are what we are, not only because of what we were; nor do we live just because we have lived. We live in order to carry on our mission in the world and we affirm the right to fulfil it.”<sup>26</sup>

The Henrician commemorations, he argued, came at an opportune moment. It was a time where Portugal, governed by Salazar, stood out as a citadel of Christian unity and order against attacks on their national unity.<sup>27</sup>

This national unity was embodied in Henry as the initiator of Portuguese maritime expansion. The most enduring physical reminder of the commemorations today is the *Padrão dos Descobrimentos* statue in Belém. Situated on the bank of the Tagus, this 52 metre high monument features many of the major figures associated with Portugal's maritime discoveries. Its design had gone through multiple iterations.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Cruz Coelho, “O Infante D. Henrique em Comemorações de morte e vida,” p. 138 ff, from *Comemorações do V Centenário da Morte do Infante Dom Henrique*, vol. I (Lisbon: Comissão das Comemorações, 1961), 131 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Translation belongs to Charles Stirling, Ambassador to Portugal from Great Britain. In: Charles Stirling, Report from British Embassy, Lisbon to “the right Honourable The Earl of Home, etc.,” November 16<sup>th</sup>, 1960, RP 1961/10. in “Anniversaries and Celebrations (1960),” *The National Archives*: FO 371/153153.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>28</sup> *O Padrão dos Descobrimentos* (Lisbon: C.A.P.O.P.I., 1960); Annarita Gori, “Historia de una obra

At the helm is Prince Henry, who looks longingly towards the ocean ahead from the prow of a caravel. Representing the inauguration of the Discoveries era (*Descobrimentos*), it became easier to apply this character universally across the Portuguese-speaking world.<sup>29</sup>

The climax of the commemorations was represented by an international naval review and inauguration of the monument in August 1960. This was a celebration of Portugal's strong maritime heritage in front of a large international audience. The naval review served to showcase Portuguese military preparedness, not as a lone ranger but as a team player well integrated in international organisations like NATO. Like Britain, Portugal was a signatory from the organisation's outset in 1949. It was an opportunity to present the armed forces in their modernity. The naval review was performed at Sagres, the southwest continental extremity where Henry had supposedly established his much contested 'school'.<sup>30</sup> The ships, both modern and sail, then travelled toward Lisbon. Two days later there was a ceremony opening the Monument to the Discoveries and naval parades representing Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, U.S.A., West Germany and Portugal.<sup>31</sup> Brazilian president Juscelino Kubitschek (r. 1956-61) was the special guest at these occasions, and would receive the Grand Collar of the Order of Prince Henry – the highest state honour.<sup>32</sup> Other diplomatic visits arranged during this period included those of the

nunca realizada. El Monumento al Infante Dom Henrique y la Autorrepresentación del Estado Novo," in *Historia Contemporánea* 52 (2016): 271-307. See also Ellen W. Sapega, "Accretions of Memory and the Limits of Commemoration in a Lisbon neighbourhood," *History and Memory* 20, n.º 2 (Fall-Winter 2008): 18-38.

29 Sérgio Campos Matos, *História, mitologia, imaginário nacional. A história no Curso dos Liceus, 1895-1939* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1990), p. 143.

30 See for example P.E., *Prince Henry the Navigator, Canning House Seventh Annual Lecture* (London: The Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Councils, 1960). Also, Francesco Barbarani, "Gli sviluppi del movimento portoghese lungo le coste occidentali dell'Africa," *Economia e Storia* 1, n.º 4 (1980): 575-82 suggests that recent findings do not support the existence of this school.

31 In the build-up, Foreign Office records suggest the dates were modified only slightly to give an extra day for naval events. For a description of the naval events from a British perspective, see "A Window on the World," *The Illustrated London News*, August 20, 1960, 16. Also "Naval Parade Off Portugal," *The Times*, August 9, 1960, 6.

32 Cláudio Bojunga, *JK: o artista do impossível* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Objetiva, 2001).

American President Dwight Eisenhower, the King of Nepal, and monarch of Thailand.<sup>33</sup> British participation was less marked, but through military and academic initiatives, it formed a significant part of the commemorations.

Correspondence archived by the Foreign Office during this period provides a useful window onto the thoughts and organisation behind participation in the commemorative events. Britain was officially invited to take part by letter to the Foreign Minister Selwyn Lloyd in May 1959, who accepted a month later.<sup>34</sup> Although this was the first instance that the Foreign Office heard about it, the Admiralty had been in discussions with the Portuguese and provisionally accepted as early as 1957. The matter was dealt with by the Portuguese Naval Attaché in London.<sup>35</sup> British representation at the review was the cruiser *H.M.S. Bermuda*, and two frigates *H.M.S. Lynx* and *H.M.S. Wakeful*, from the Portsmouth command.<sup>36</sup> Portugal had decided that naval representations were limited to a maximum of three ships, presumably not to upstage their own forces as the main attraction. The procession to Lisbon would be led by the Portuguese naval sailing barque *Sagres*.<sup>37</sup> Participation was later extended to include fly pasts of R.A.F., United States, Portuguese, and Spanish air forces, which had something to do with increased engagement resulting from negotiated use of the Lajes air base in the Azores. The Azores was considered a vital link for

33 João Sarmento, *Fortifications, Post-colonialism and Power: Ruins and Imperial Legacies* (London: Routledge, 2011), 27. *Monumenta Henricina, Comemorações do V Centenário*, vol. IV, 263-70.

34 Letter from Abranches Pinto (Portuguese ambassador, London) to Selwyn Lloyd, RP1961 and RP1961/3, 11<sup>th</sup> May, 1959, and 19<sup>th</sup> June, 1959. in "Anniversaries and celebrations in Portugal (1959)," *The National Archives*: FO 371/144859.

35 Likely this refers to Commander T.A. Beet, who was mentioned in other correspondence. He terminated his tour on 28<sup>th</sup> November 1960. The Royal Navy had also visited Setúbal and Oporto at the end of 1959. See: Letter from E.I. Edwards, of Military Branch II, Admiralty, to R.H.H. Tenison of Southern Department, Foreign Office. 13<sup>th</sup> June, 1959. in "Anniversaries and celebrations in Portugal (1959)," *The National Archives*: FO 371/144859.

36 The *Wakeful* and *Bermuda* dated back to the 1940s, while the *Lynx* was part of a line of modern anti-aircraft frigates. For confirmation of vessels, and other organisational matters see: Letter from the Admiralty to R.H.H. Tenison of the Southern Department, 8<sup>th</sup> February, 1960. in "Anniversaries and Celebrations (1960)," *The National Archives*: FO 371/153153.

37 The *Sagres* is present in descriptions of the event. It's role was confirmed to the Foreign Office in: Letter from British Embassy, Lisbon, to Southern Department, Foreign Office. 1<sup>st</sup> February, 1960. in "Anniversaries and Celebrations (1960)," *The National Archives*: FO 371/153153.

NATO, but particularly US operations.<sup>38</sup> The official invite was sent to the British Foreign Minister in July.<sup>39</sup> A special invitation was sent to Sir Edward Chiltern the Air Marshal a few days later.<sup>40</sup> British participation was officially confirmed quite late on 2<sup>nd</sup> August, and three Shackleton aircraft were sent on from RAF Gibraltar.<sup>41</sup> Pictures from the aircraft of the naval review featured in *The Times* and the *Illustrated London News*.<sup>42</sup>

Though it appears that the Foreign Office was also looking for diplomatic representation at the commemorations, they were somewhat disappointed to learn that they would not have it. Leading up to the review, the Chancery (Lisbon embassy) wrote to London that

“Although we have from time to time and at various levels hinted to the Portuguese that we would be grateful to have some indication from them of the kind of British representation they would like to have at the climax of the Dom Henrique Vth Centenary celebrations in August, we have so far had no success in obtaining any reaction from them.”

The F.O. went on to suggest the First Lord of the Admiralty as a suitable representative, given the ‘maritime nature’ of the occasion.

38 Luís Nuno Rodrigues, “Azores or Angola? Military Bases and Self-Determination During the Kennedy Administration,” in *Military Bases: Historical Perspectives, Contemporary Challenges* (Amsterdam: IOS Press, 2009), 70–71.

39 Letter from Abranches Pinto (Portuguese ambassador, London) to Selwyn Lloyd. 16<sup>th</sup> July, 1960. RP1961/6. in “Anniversaries and Celebrations (1960),” *The National Archives*: FO 371/153153.

40 Letter from Abranches Pinto (Portuguese ambassador, London) to Selwyn Lloyd. 23<sup>rd</sup> July, 1960. RP1961/6. in “Anniversaries and Celebrations (1960),” *The National Archives*: FO 371/153153.

41 Telegram from Foreign Office, London, to Abranches Pinto (Portuguese ambassador, London), 2<sup>nd</sup> August, 1960. in “Anniversaries and Celebrations (1960),” *The National Archives*: FO 371/153153.

42 “A Window on the World,” *The Illustrated London News*, August 20, 1960, 16. “Naval Parade Off Portugal,” *The Times*, August 9, 1960, 6. “In Memory of a Medieval Venturer,” *Times*, August 9, 1960, p. 1. *The Times Digital Archive*.



They soon abandoned this suggestion though, once they learnt that there was no intention to invite diplomatic missions from the United Kingdom.<sup>43</sup>

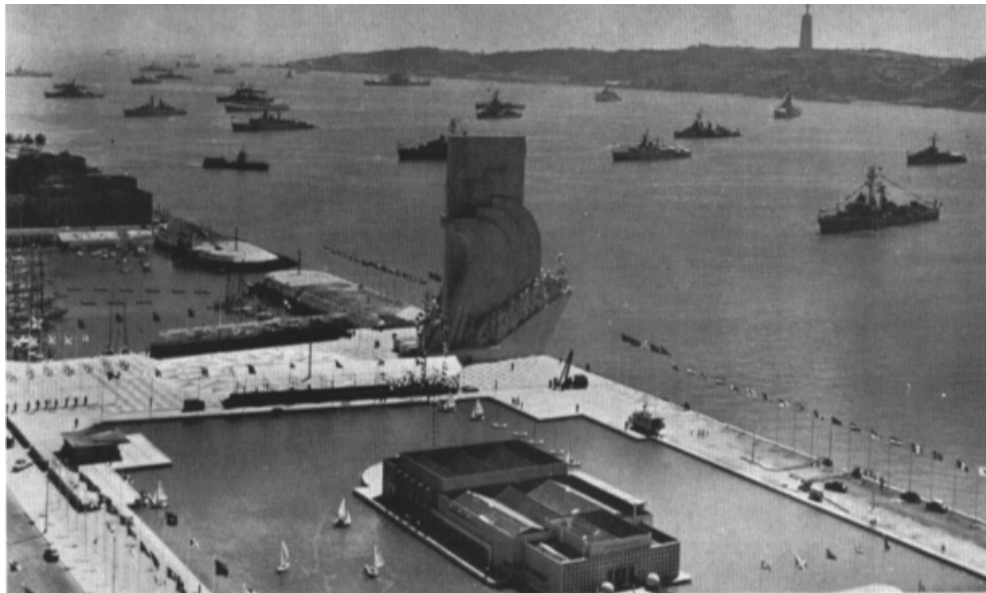


Figure 2. Aerial view of the naval review off Sagres from an R.A.F. Shackleton aircraft. 'A Window on the World', *The Illustrated London News*, (Aug. 20, 1960) p.16. The picture also appeared in "In Memory of a Medieval Venturer." *Times*, 9 Aug. 1960, p. 1. *The Times Digital Archive*.



Figure 3. The Portuguese sailing ship *Sagres* leading the naval units to Belém. 'A Window on the World', *The Illustrated London News*, (Aug. 20, 1960) p.16.

<sup>43</sup> See letters from the Chancery of British embassy, Lisbon, to Southern Department, London; 4<sup>th</sup> April, 1960 and 21<sup>st</sup> April, 1960. RP 161/4. in "Anniversaries and Celebrations (1960)," *The National Archives*, FO 371/153153.



IN TRIBUTE—Ships of 14 nations anchor in front of the Monument of the Discoveries to honor Prince Henry.

Figure 4. US Navy photo of the Padrão dos Descobrimentos during its inauguration, featuring the tribute of foreign naval vessels. F.C. Huntley (Ed.), *All Hands, The Bureau of Naval Personnel Information Bulletin*, Number 525 (USA: October 1960)

After the events, the British were thanked in a letter from the Portuguese ambassador in London, Abranches Pinto:

“The Portuguese Government has greatly appreciated the British participation in some of the major events of the special celebrations to mark this great occasion. Indeed, the presence of the Royal Navy and the Royal Air Force units lent exceptional brilliance to the commemorations and contributed greatly to their success. The Portuguese Government feels sure that the traditional ties of friendship between the two countries, thus once more reaffirmed, will continue ever closer within the framework of the common ideals and interests which unite them.”<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Letter from Abranches Pinto (Portuguese ambassador, London) to the Rt. Hon. Earl of Home. 1<sup>st</sup> September, 1960. RP 1961/7. in “Anniversaries and Celebrations (1960),” *The National Archives*: FO 371/153153.



The reply from R.F.G. Sarell (Head of Southern Department, Foreign Office 1960-61) was that: "Her Majesty's Government were happy to take advantage of this historic opportunity to re-affirm the traditional ties of friendship which have for so long existed between the United Kingdom and Portugal."<sup>45</sup> Following the commemorations there is evidence that other initiatives were made to continue cooperation. This included another visit in February 1961 by Edward Chiltern who was to present a silver rose-bowl to the Portuguese Air Force, henceforth the object of an annual competition awarded to the most efficient maritime aircrew.<sup>46</sup> Also in December 1960, 400 cadets from Sandhurst took part in a short course of training in Portugal at Santa Margarida.<sup>47</sup> This military cooperation made the refusal of help in Goa in 1961, as we shall see, all the more shocking. The military participation was an important gesture from the British government to contribute to the commemorations. This was not entirely unusual given previous Anglo-Portuguese military cooperation and the diplomatic relations between the respective governments during this time.

British government assistance was also requested in 1959 for an exhibition scheduled to open during the commemorative period called the *Exposição Henriquina*. This exhibition took place between March and November in Belém at the Museu de Arte Popular, a fitting place as it is adjacent to the sea, the *Padrão dos Descobrimentos* monument, and the Jerónimos Monastery. When it opened, the exhibition itself was wide-ranging, featuring a number of rare and significantly important items relating to the Portuguese discoveries. The style of the exhibition is significant as it was more akin to a contemporary art

45 For information on Sarell, see: Colin Mackie, *A Directory of British Diplomats* (London; Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2014), Vol 2, 435. url: <[https://issuu.com/fcohistorians/docs/bdd\\_part\\_2\\_with\\_covers](https://issuu.com/fcohistorians/docs/bdd_part_2_with_covers)> [Acc. Jan 2019]. Quote in: Letter from R.F.G. Sarell (Head of Southern Department, Foreign Office) to Abranches Pinto (Portuguese Ambassador, London) 8<sup>th</sup> September, 1960. RP 1961/7. in "Anniversaries and Celebrations (1960)," *The National Archives*: FO 371/153153.

46 Letter from Sir Edward Chiltern (Air Marshall) to A.D.M. Ross (British ambassador, Lisbon), 21<sup>st</sup> December, 1960. RP 1225/2A. in "Visit of Air Marshal Sir Edward Chiltern," *The National Archives*: FO 371/153134.

47 Report from Charles Stirling (British ambassador, Lisbon) to Foreign Office, London, in "Annual Review for 1960," *The National Archives*: FO 371/160725.

exhibition. False walls, careful lighting and theatrics created a more modern and popular feel to the exhibition. The final spectacle of the exhibition was essentially a map of the world with various Portuguese discoveries and colonies laid out across it. Two meridian lines featured across the map representing the limits imposed by the famous Treaty of Tordesilhas (1494). In the build up to the *Exposição Henriquina*, the commission wrote to Charles Stirling, the British Ambassador (1955-60).<sup>48</sup> In it, José Caeiro da Matta requested help with loaning items from British institutions. The letter (probably translated by Stirling) explained that they were to serve in:

“an exhibition of ‘Henriquiana’, which will serve to make known via adequate physical representation the essence of the Infante’s action as a driving force behind the discoveries [...] This will doubtless be one of the most outstanding events in the Henrician commemorations and will have a major interest both in cultural circles and with the public in general.”<sup>49</sup>

The requests were all for original sixteenth-century charts from the British Museum, the National Maritime Museum (Greenwich), and others from the Bodleian Library (Oxford), and the Marquess of Salisbury’s library in Hatfield.<sup>50</sup> In return, the Commission offered a copy of the *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*.

This request had more to do with the relevant collections that these British institutions had than the improvement of diplomatic relations, but the choice to request assistance directly from the government

48 For information on Stirling, see Colin Mackie, *A Directory of British Diplomats* (London; Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2014), Vol 2, 469. url: <[https://issuu.com/fcohistorians/docs/bdd\\_part\\_2\\_with\\_covers](https://issuu.com/fcohistorians/docs/bdd_part_2_with_covers)> [Acc. Jan 2019].

49 Letter from José Caeiro da Matta (president of the Executive Committee) to Sir Charles Norman Stirling (Ambassador of Great Britain, Lisbon) November, 1959. RP 1961. in “Anniversaries and celebrations in Portugal (1959),” *The National Archives*: FO 371/144859.

50 *Ibidem*.

was an interesting one. Temporary exhibitions had often been used by the Portuguese state to commemorate various aspects of Portuguese culture and heritage throughout its history; theorists have been relatively slow to recognise the museum as a vehicle of the state and ‘disciplinary society’.<sup>51</sup> Eleven temporary exhibitions dedicated to similar themes took place between 1940 and 1960. This includes the world exhibition of 1940 in Belém, which coincided with the tercentenary of the Portuguese *Restauração*, the 1947 exhibition commemorating the conquest of Lisbon, the 1953 exhibition commemorating twenty five years of Salazar in office, the 1957 exhibitions promoting industry, the sixth centenary of the birth of Nuno Álvares Pereira, and finally the 1960 exhibition on Prince Henry at the Museu de Arte Popular.<sup>52</sup>



Figure 5. The view from inside the *Exposição Henriquina*, Belém, 1960. *Catálogo da Exposição Henriquina* (Porto: Biblioteca Pública Municipal, 1960)

51 Tony Bennet, “The political rationality of the museum,” in *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), 89-105.

52 See for a more comprehensive list and discussion: Sérgio Lira, *Museums and Temporary Exhibitions as means of propaganda: the Portuguese case during the Estado Novo*, Phd Thesis (University of Leicester, Department of Museum Studies, 2002), 252; Joana Ramalho, “The *Mise-en-scène* of the Empire: The 1940 Portuguese World Exhibition,” in *Media and the Portuguese Empire*, ed. José Luís Garcia, Chandrika Kaul, Filipa Subtil and Alexandra Santos (London: Palgrave Macmillan: 2017), 197-216; Ernesto Castrol Leal, “Nuno Álvares: Símbolo e mito nos séculos XIX e XX,” *Lusitania Sacra* 12 (2000), 143-83.

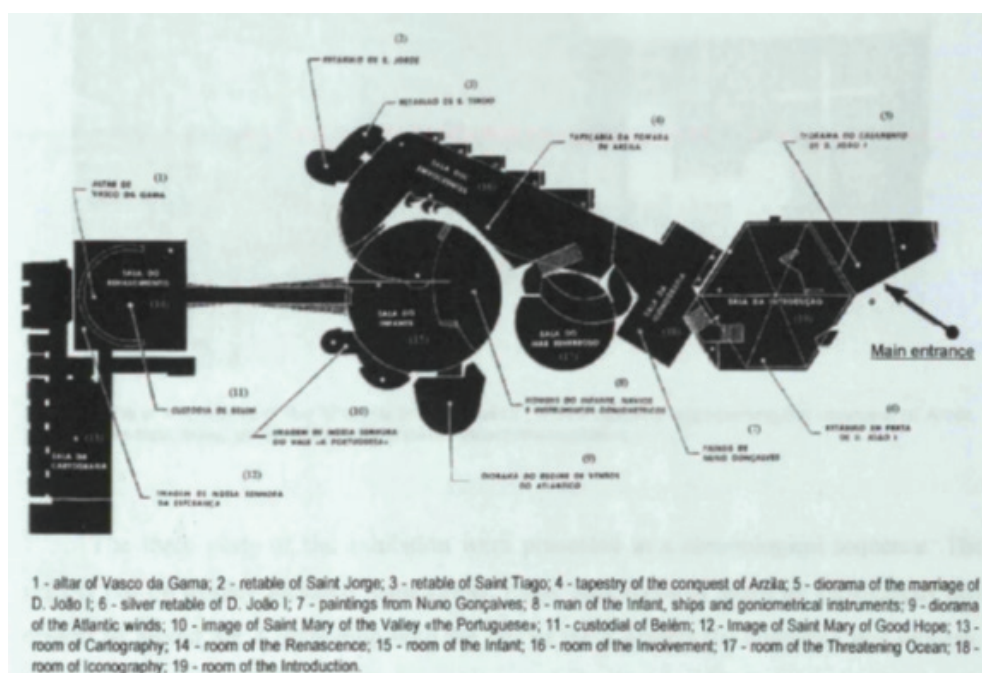


Figure 6. Plan of the *Exposição Henriquina*, Belém, 1960. Sérgio Lira, *Museums and Temporary Exhibitions as means of propaganda: the Portuguese case during the Estado Novo*, p. 222

The request for aid from the *Comissão das Comemorações* was passed onto the Foreign Office in London. They were far from helpful and did not seem to grasp the importance of the occasion or the benefits of engagement. The Foreign Office did not respond, although they contacted the British Council, and skirted responsibility by saying the Commission should get in touch directly with the owners/trustees.<sup>53</sup> The chancery had to correct them about a negligent slip (‘not the Spanish ambassador I hope’ ...“...I am inclined to wonder whether this delightful conceit was intended or accidental, but it is certainly a happy thought on somebody’s part”) and told the Portuguese their ambassador should stop with the Chancery for help/advice on obtaining loans. As was written on to the Foreign Office:

53 Telegram from Southern Department, Foreign office, to the Chancery at British embassy, Lisbon. 10<sup>th</sup> December, 1959. RP1961/6. in “Anniversaries and celebrations in Portugal (1959),” *The National Archives*: FO 371/144859.

"The point of this, as you will no doubt have realised, is however unimportant and outside Southern Department's field these minor activities in connection with the exposition of "Henriquiana" may seem, the whole affair is really of vast importance to the Portuguese and their pride in their contributions to the spread of civilization. Consequently, anything that H.M. Government can do to help them make the affair a success will earn good dividends."<sup>54</sup>

The London response reported that:

"we have now heard from Dr. Skelton, who is in charge of the Map Room at the British Museum, that the Portuguese Embassy are handling this matter most efficiently. A London Committee has been set up to deal with all aspects of the Centenary Celebrations and the first meeting was held on February 25. Senhor Dias is Secretary. Mr. Skelton represents the British museum (which is unfortunately precluded by statute from lending) on the committee, Mr. George West of the British Council, who has special duties in connexion with the Anglo-Portuguese Mixed commission and personal ties with Portugal, is on it, and so is Professor Charles Boxer, Camoens Professor of Portuguese at London University. There are 14 members in all... The National Maritime Museum have already agreed to loan the chart asked for. I do not think there is anything we can usefully do to help matters forward at this stage."<sup>55</sup>

The academics sitting on the London committee were also behind a reciprocal exhibition. Their involvement with the commemorations

<sup>54</sup> Letter from J.D. Murray (Chancery British embassy, Lisbon) to R. Hanbury-Tenison, Esq., February, 1960. RP 1961/2. in "Anniversaries and Celebrations (1960)," *The National Archives*: FO 371/153153.

<sup>55</sup> Letter from R. Hanbury-Tenison, Esq. to British Embassy, Lisbon. 26<sup>th</sup> February, 1960. RP 1961/2. In "Anniversaries and Celebrations (1960)," *The National Archives*: FO 371/153153.

stretched back a long way through a program of various state-sponsored anthologies and collections of printed historical sources. The practice of commemoration, and the British participation in it, extended much further than military and diplomatic means. To understand the full extent of the participation, it is necessary to look further than through actions of the British government and the various associated diplomats. Academic participation in the commemorations, both in Portugal and Britain, formed a significant part of the *Henrique* commemorations.

### **Academic involvement in the practice of commemoration**

The academic component to the *Henrique* commemorations, was primarily the production, presentation and dissemination of a series of state-sponsored publications. The impetus for these projects can be explained through the strong bonds between government, academia and the *Comissão das Comemorações*. Higher education during the *Estado Novo* is often understood to have been a sector with social prestige, a strong hierarchy, small numbers and with a large amount of government involvement.<sup>56</sup> The strong government involvement is partly a reflection of the dominance that those in academia held in the political elite. The term *cátedracracia* is sometimes used to describe this autocracy dominated by university chairs, as so many government ministers had previously served as professors.<sup>57</sup> This system produced its own strains. Tremendous pressures were placed on Armando Cortesão, an erstwhile dissident in exile in the 1930s, to come back to Portugal and reconcile himself with the ruling authorities. Not all professional historians working within academia, however, were brought on board so easily. Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, an important historian of the Discoveries, who had been forced in the mid-1940s to move to France to

<sup>56</sup>Teresa Carvalho, "Shaping the 'New' Academic Profession," in Guy Neave and Alberto Amaral, *Higher Education in Portugal 1974-2009: A Nation, a Generation* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2012), 333-34.

<sup>57</sup> Tom Gallagher, *Portugal: A Twentieth-Century Interpretation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), 77-82.

continue his career, made numerous critical evaluations of the Salazar regime. In 1954, for example, he labelled Portuguese historical studies to be going through a period of crisis, blaming the attitude of historians, the lack of a scientific environment, the state of the archives, and pedagogic problems.<sup>58</sup>

The celebrations, funding and environment helped to provide momentum to several specialised projects, many of which dated back to the 1940s. The problems described by Godinho, influenced the design of the publications. Most of the publications were extensive anthologies of primary source materials, bibliographies or monographs. Their production required a large amount of cooperation between the National Commission and academia, both within and outside Portugal. Most of these were reference works distributed to major institutions in order to help researchers. The anthology publications were intended as timeless monuments of Portuguese heritage. These works were often extensive, encyclopaedic and set a benchmark for later scholarship; some were later labelled by Godinho “insurmountable.”<sup>59</sup>

**Table 1 – Colecção Henriquina –  
 In Twelve Volumes (Lisbon, 1958-61):**

Title	Translation	Author	Year
<i>História dos Descobri- mentos Portugueses</i>	<i>History of the Portu- guese Discoveries</i>	Damião Peres	1959
<i>Vida e Obra do Infan- te D. Henrique</i>	<i>Life and Work of the Prince Henry the Navigator</i>	Vitorino Ne- mésio	1959
<i>Descobrimento do Atlântico</i>	<i>Discovery of the Atlantic</i>	Costa Brocha- do	1958

<sup>58</sup> Sérgio Campos Matos, “History of Historiography and National Memory in Portugal,” *History Compass* 10, n.º 10 (2012): 767. Dale Tomich provides a biography in *Review* (Fernand Braudel Center) 28, n.º 4, In Honor of Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (2005): 305-12, which might be juxtaposed with Godinho’s newspaper interviews such as that in the *Jornal de Letras*, April 27, 2011 [online].

<sup>59</sup> Quote from 2011 in Luís Adão da Fonseca, “Vitorino Magalhães Godinho,” *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 12, n.º 2 (2014).



<i>A Ciência Náutica dos Portugueses na Época das Descobertas</i>	<i>The Nautical Science of the Portuguese in the Age of Discovery</i>	Fontoura da Costa	1958
<i>Os Navios do Infante D. Henrique</i>	<i>The Navy of Henry the Navigator</i>	Quirino da Fonseca	1958
<i>A Prioridade dos Descobrimientos Portugueses</i>	<i>The Precedence of the Portuguese Discoveries</i>	Visconde de Santarém	1958
<i>A Política de Sigilo nos Descobrimientos</i>	<i>The Policy of Secrecy in the Discoveries</i>	Jaime Cortesão	1960
<i>Cartografia Portuguesa Antiga</i>	<i>Ancient Portuguese Cartography</i>	Armando Cortesão	1960
<i>A Acção Missionária no período Henriquino</i>	<i>Missionary Action in the Henrician period</i>	Padre António Brásio	1958
<i>Panorama Económico dos Descobrimientos Henriquinos</i>	<i>Economic Panorama of Henry's Discoveries</i>	Amaro D. Guerreiro	1961
<i>O Infante D. Henrique e a Universidade</i>	<i>Prince Henry and the University</i>	A. Moreira de Sá	1960
<i>Historiógrafos dos Descobrimientos</i>	<i>Historiographers of the Discoveries</i>	Costa Brochado	1960

**Table 2 - Major state-sponsored anthology publications during the commemorations:<sup>60</sup>**

Title of the publications	Editors	Years of Publication	Volumes
<i>Descobrimientos Portugueses</i>	Silva Marques	1944-1971	4

<sup>60</sup> Judite A. Gonçalves de Freitas, "The Memory of Prince Henry the Navigator: Genesis, Formation and Classification of a Monumental Collection of Documents – The Monumenta Henricina," *Roda da Fortuna. Revista Eletrônica sobre Antiguidade e Medievo* 2, n.º 2 (2013): 383-84.



<i>Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente</i>	António da Silva Rego	1947-1958	12
<i>Monumenta Missionária Africana (África Ocidental)</i>	Padre António Brásio	1952-1970	14 + 1
<i>Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente: Insulíndia</i>	Artur Basílio de Sá	1954-1988	6
<i>Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica</i>	Armando Cortesão and Avelino A. Teixeira da Mota	1960-1962	6
<i>Monumenta Henricina</i>	Antonio Joaquim Dias Dinis	1960-1973	12+2

Such an extensive programme of publications offered a great deal of opportunity for scholars to modernise the scholarship on the *descobrimentos* (discoveries). The historiography on the Portuguese overseas empire during this period had many gaps and was often inconsistent. The peripheral situation of Portugal also meant a certain isolation from and failure to engage with other European works.<sup>61</sup> The *Bibliografia Henriquina* (1960) was a work which intended to fix this situation. It was a large reference bibliography of Portuguese and foreign literature since the discoveries and constituted the first of the fifteen volumes (in two parts, 325 and 383 pages respectively) comprising the *Monumenta Henricina*.<sup>62</sup>

61 For a recent summary, see Sérgio Campos Matos, “History of Historiography and National Memory in Portugal,” *History Compass* 10, n.º 10 (2012): 765-77.

62 *Monumenta Henricina* (Lisbon/Coimbra: Comissão Executiva das Comemorações do Quinto Centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique, 1960).

The *Monumenta Henricina* was a significant collection of primary sources which can be interpreted an encouragement for historians and researchers to engage with the period of the *descobrimentos*. It was one of many works which included thorough-going collections from national and foreign sources. The selection criteria are important to consider here, and these criteria were important in establishing a lasting national tradition of historiography. Above anything else, these anthologies prioritised expansionist and missionary activity.<sup>63</sup> Most of the works released were tailored to historians and researchers, like the series of talks on different topics related to Henry's age, which came together as the *Homenagem ao Infante D. Henrique* (published in the series *Arquivos da Universidade de Lisboa*, no. XIX, 1960), but there were also a number of popular works designed for the general public – some, like Villiers' commissioned article for the *National Geographic Magazine*, of a cloying sycophancy.<sup>64</sup> The *Colecção Henriquina*, consists of twelve volumes focusing on different themes of Portuguese history. Damião Peres' *História dos Descobrimentos Portugueses* was the most popular and was republished in 1960 alongside an English translation.

These initiatives provided the driver for foreign collaboration. British cooperation was notable in historic cartography and the construction of the *Portugaliae Monumentae Cartographica*. It includes a wide array of maps, *roteiros*, and discussions on their reproductions and uses; a kind of encyclopaedia of Portuguese maps throughout history and collected from across the world. It is significant for its magnitude, but also the efforts at which were made to make the work accessible. The work was unusually written in both Portuguese and English, with translations side by side. This is significant in part because it made the

63 Judite A. Gonçalves de Freitas, "The Memory of Prince Henry the Navigator: Genesis, Formation and Classification of a Monumental Collection of Documents – the *Monumenta Henricina*," *Roda da Fortuna. Revista Eletrônica sobre Antiguidade e Medievo* 2, n.º 2 (2013): 384.

64 Alan Villiers, "Prince Henry, the explorer who stayed home," *National Geographic Magazine* 118, n.º 5 (November 1960): 616-57, for which the author received the title of Commander of the Ordem Militar de Sant'Iago da Espada (Order of St James of the Sword) in 1951. See Afonso Ramos, "Photography and Propaganda in the Fall of the Portuguese Empire: Volkmar Wentzel's Assignments for *National Geographic Magazine*," in Garcia, *Media and the Portuguese Empire*, 258-59.

work more accessible, but also because it encouraged critical engagement with the Portuguese text. It featured extensive collaboration with British researchers and organisations who recognised a unique opportunity to combine skills and resources. For this reason, definitions of an 'academic' and 'professional historian' should be used loosely. British academics served as useful collaborators in the field of maritime discoveries and cartography as the subjects were well established in the UK. Although this refers to British collaboration, these organisations and individuals were concentrated in London. The Hakluyt and Royal Geographic Societies became particularly interested in Portuguese maritime discoveries and supported publications on the topic such as *The Tragic History of the Sea* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1959), a significant collection of primary sources relating famous shipwrecks on the Carreira da Índia, and then in 1968, *Further selections from The Tragic History of the Sea, 1559-1565*. We can also attest to increasing engagement with the Portuguese Discoveries in the *Imago Mundi* journal – an international journal on the history of cartography – and among its contributors.

The publication of the *Portugaliae Monumentae Cartographica* was a long process, taking over five years to come to fruition. It is an example of a project that grew extensively over the course of its production and thus required a great deal of outside help to ensure its completion. Armando Cortesão was a historian who had lived in London between 1935-1946 as an exile of the Portuguese regime. He had maintained a friendship with the historian Charles Boxer and kept up professional contacts in Britain in the years following. In 1952, after working with UNESCO, Cortesão was able to return to Portugal and took up a post as the Chair of Cartography at Coimbra University.<sup>65</sup> The idea of such a work was conceived of in 1955, albeit in a more modest form. It was later that year that Cortesão was approached by

<sup>65</sup> Rui Ramos, "A Erudição Lusitanista perante a Guerra (c.1960-c.1970): Algumas Observações sobre a polémica entre Charles Boxer e Armando Cortesão," in *Os Descobrimentos Portugueses no Mundo de Língua Inglesa* (Lisbon: Ed. Colibri, 2005), 189-219; J.S. Cummins and L. de Sousa Rebelo, "The Controversy over Charles Boxer's 'Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire' 1415-1825," *Portuguese Studies* 17 (2001): 233-46.

the *Comissão das Comemorações* to integrate his plans into the wider program of commemorations. The help of Lieutenant-Commander Avelino Teixeira da Mota, who had experience in hydrographic surveying, was assured in 1957. While Cortesão used his London connections, Teixeira da Mota used his contacts in Africa to help provide source materials.<sup>66</sup> These two authors wrote the majority of the work.<sup>67</sup> They forged contacts with the British Museum, where R.A. Skelton was head of its Map Room. Skelton was actively involved in circles of historic cartography in Britain; being an editor of *Imago mundi*, and an active contributor to the Hakluyt and Royal Geographic societies. He was evidently enthusiastic and made a great contribution to the *Monumenta Cartographica* as he is acknowledged highly in the work:

“Not only has he read all our English texts and proofs, but he always assisted willingly in consulting works which we could not find in Portugal, and with unsparing help and advice of various kinds and in many ways. Without the precious cooperation of this first-class scholar, experienced editor and devoted friend, [Portugaliae Monumentae Cartographica] certainly could not be what it is...”<sup>68</sup>

The work was released in 1960 by the commission with a special preface written by its president José Caeiro da Mata. Included in is a special thanks to Salazar for his support of the endeavour. The preface concludes that the *Monumenta Cartographica* would be “...a work that will find its way into the principle cultural institutions of the World and will remain as a permanent testimony to the debt owed by civilization and the modern World to the Portuguese.”<sup>69</sup> To follow this up,

<sup>66</sup> See P.E.H. Hair, “The Teixeira da Mota Archive and the Guinea Texts Project,” *History in Africa* 10 (1983): 387-94.

<sup>67</sup> Armando Cortesão and Avelino Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica* (Lisbon: Comissão para as Comemorações do V Centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique, 1960), XXXV.

<sup>68</sup> *Id, ibid*, XI.

<sup>69</sup> *Id, ibid*, XIV.

multiple copies were sent to various institutions around the world, all funded by the Portuguese state. This evidently had a lasting impact; currently Worldcat.org lists that this work is present in 131 institutions around the globe.<sup>70</sup> This is unusual for such an enormous and specialised reference work from this era. The English translation enabled a much wider readership and this seemed to reveal itself in the number of reviews. Importantly, it also fell outside of the typical historically inclined academic readership and into the readership of geographers. It became an icon amongst professional map dealers like Jonathan Potter Limited.<sup>71</sup> Reviews of the work commended the scholarship, the quality of the prints and the generosity of the Portuguese government. The work itself is so large that one review suggested a design for a cabinet and lectern that would be most appropriate to store it.<sup>72</sup> A review in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* reckoned it “...an achievement whose magnitude and scholarship render it an event outstanding in the world of learning in the twentieth century.”<sup>73</sup> G.R. Crone ended his review in the *Geographic Journal* eloquently: “It would be difficult to imagine a more fitting memorial to Prince Henry than these splendid volumes.”<sup>74</sup>

The finale and launch of these grand academic initiatives, was the *Congresso Internacional de História dos Descobrimentos* organised by the *Comissão das Comemorações* and held between 5-12 September, 1960 in Lisbon. It was a large event, with 800 scholars and organisations attending from 85 different countries. The event itself was filmed and reported on national news. The full program included corollary events such as an official reception from the foreign ministry at the Palácio das Necessidades in Ajuda, a mass with Admiral Thomaz and

70 Worldcat.org (2018), url: <<[http://www.worldcat.org/title/portugaliae-monumenta-cartographica/oclc/3056654&referer=brief\\_results](http://www.worldcat.org/title/portugaliae-monumenta-cartographica/oclc/3056654&referer=brief_results)>>.

71 Thomas Bourke, *The Consolation of Maps* (London: Riverrun, 2018), §6.

72 J. Rennard Dean, “Review of Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica,” *International Hydrographic Review* XL (1963).

73 Arthur Davies, “Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica, a Review,” *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 78 (1962): 178

74 G.R. Crone, “Review of Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographia,” *The Geographic Journal* 129 (1963).

members of his government, and a display of folk culture. It also included visits to the *Exposição Henriquina* in Belém, the Jerónimos monastery and that at Batalha, where Dom Henrique and his family are interred, the local towns of Alcobaça and Nazaré, and the gardens of Monserrate palace. There was a strong focus on not just presenting the high points of Portuguese culture to the guests, but perhaps more importantly, creating a public display of this presentation as footage in the RTP archives testifies to. The celebrations were designed both to remind Portuguese citizens at home and abroad of their common bonds, but also to divert the populace's attention from unresolved national problems, including mass poverty, an undemocratic government and an unfree press.<sup>75</sup>



Figures 7 and 8. RTP Footage of the *Congresso Internacional de História dos Descobrimentos* / RTP Archives, (2018), url: <<https://arquivos.rtp.pt/conteudos/encerramento-do-congresso-internacional-de-historia-dos-descobrimentos/>>; Other photos in Mário Cardoso, 'Congressos. Congresso Luso-Espanhol para o Progresso das Ciências, in *Revista de Guimarães* 70 (3-4) Jul.-Dez. (1960), p. 557.

The conference also included 45 *convidados oficiais* (official guests), who were almost exclusively professors and presidents of high ranking research institutions from across Europe. From Britain this included G.R. Crone of the Royal Geographic Society, R.A. Skelton of the British Museum, C.R. Boxer of Kings College London, J.W. Blake of Keele University College of North Staffordshire, Professor Denys Hay of Edinburgh University, and the erstwhile Head of Department

<sup>75</sup> Dauril Alden and Michael Cooper, *Charles Boxer: An uncommon life: soldier, historian, teacher, collector, traveller* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2001) 368-69.

of Portuguese at King's College, London, Sidney George West, who had been author of a book on *The New Corporative State of Portugal*, published in Lisbon in 1937. News of the conference made *The Times* in the UK, where they reckoned that 800 maritime historians from 85 countries were either taking part or contributing.<sup>76</sup>

*Topics were divided into two parts, the first part including: cartography, nautical science, voyages of discovery including recognition and information, causes and consequences of the discoveries. Skelton presented a paper relating the knowledge of Portuguese Atlantic discoveries through a manuscript notebook by one William Worcestre alias Botoner (d. 1481) that turned up in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.*<sup>77</sup> The second part focused on expansion and covered the topics of expansion by the end of the sixteenth-century, expansion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the 'civilising actions' (a euphemism for imperialism) of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The proceedings of the conference were ultimately presented in the publication of six volumes of the conferences proceedings.<sup>78</sup> They present the wide range of topics on offer at the conference, and includes endorsements and supporting statements from a wide variety of organisations. This notably included the Hakluyt and Royal Geographic societies. The organisers were praised for their efforts to be inclusive, by allowing papers to be presented in English and by using translators where necessary. It is important to recognise that the involvement of international researchers and organisations, while they served to enrich the proceedings, also served to legitimise the commemorations.<sup>79</sup>

A smaller British rendition of the international congress was held in London by the Royal Geographical Society a month later.<sup>80</sup> Dr Eric Axelsson, of Witwatersrand University in South Africa, who held a Gul-

<sup>76</sup> "Congress on History of Discoveries," *The Times*, September 6, 1960, 9.

<sup>77</sup> "English Knowledge of the Portuguese Discoveries in the 15th Century – a new document," in *Actas do Congresso Internacional de História dos Descobrimentos* (Lisbon: Comissão Executiva das Comemorações do Quinto Centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique, 1961), vol. 2, 365-74.

<sup>78</sup> Seven volumes including the index. *Actas do Congresso Internacional de História dos Descobrimentos* (Lisbon: Comissão Executiva das Comemorações do Quinto Centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique, 1960).

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid*, vol. I.

<sup>80</sup> This took place on 17<sup>th</sup> October, 1960



benkian Foundation Fellowship, gave a paper entitled ‘Prince Henry the Navigator and the Sea Route to India’.<sup>81</sup> In the audience was Armando Cortesão, who was there as a representative of the *Comissão das Comemorações*. He had recently been given a Victoria Medal by the Hakluyt Society for his work on the PMC. Alan Burns, President of the Hakluyt Society, was there too.<sup>82</sup>

*The British Council had also put on a small program of commemoration in Portugal, likely at the behest of Professor Sidney George West. He had working relationships at Coimbra university and King’s College London, and his advocacy for a British institute in Lisbon was partially responsible for the creation of the British Council in 1934.*<sup>83</sup> The British Council’s institute in Lisbon hosted an exhibition on *Luís de Camões* including; 114 books, four pictures and early English translations of *Os Lusíadas* from 1655 and onwards. Most of these items were from the institute’s library, but it also included loans from Coimbra University and the private collections of Professor A.A. Gonçalves and Dr George Duff.<sup>84</sup> Coimbra university hosted an ‘English week’ under the patronage of the British Council.<sup>85</sup>

*The most significant act of commemoration to Dom Henrique in Britain was an exhibition hosted by the British Museum called: ‘Prince Henry the Navigator and Portuguese Maritime Enterprise’. The idea behind this exhibition was from Skelton, and related to his involvement in the *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*. The proposals for this exhibition were submitted in 1959 and the exhibition only ran for two months in September and October. That year there were thirteen other exhibitions, five took place in the King’s library and four of the*

81 Eric Axelsson, “Prince Henry the Navigator and the Discovery of the Sea Route to India,” *The Geographical Journal* 127, n.º 2 (Jun 1961): 145-55.

82 Lord Nathan, Eva Taylor, Armando Cortesão and Alan Burns, “Prince Henry the Navigator and the Discovery of the Sea Route to India: Discussion,” *The Geographical Journal* 127, n.º 2 (Jun 1961): 155-58.

83 This institute focused most of its efforts on teaching English in Lisbon. For the conditions surrounding the creation of the British Council, see Edward Corse, *A Battle for Neutral Europe; British Cultural Propaganda during the Second World War* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 77.

84 “Camoens Exhibition in Lisbon,” *The Times*, June 28, 1960, 10.

85 “News in Brief,” *The Times*, March 14, 1960.



five exhibitions were commemorations in 1960.<sup>86</sup> Principle Keeper of the Department of Printed Book, Robert Wilson, was unenthralled about these centenary celebrations. Writing on another proposal, to commemorate Count István Széchenyi of Hungary, he remarked: “only a few cases would be needed... the disadvantage is that it would be one more of these not very impressive centenary exhibitions of which, in my view, we have already had a surfeit. The advantage is that it would serve to show something of our riches in foreign, not to say outlandish, material.”<sup>87</sup>



Figure 9. The King's Library, British Museum, site of the 1960 exhibition 'Prince Henry the Navigator and Portuguese Maritime Enterprise'. Frederick York, 'The King's Library', a photograph, 1875. Care of Trustees of the British Museum.

The material in Skelton's exhibition was wide ranging; including numerous maps, astronomical objects, early chronicles and paintings.

<sup>86</sup> See Joanna Bowring, "Chronology of Temporary Exhibitions at the British Museum," in *British Museum Research* 189 (2012).

<sup>87</sup> This was the proposal commemorate Count István Széchenyi of Hungary. Letter from Robert Wilson, Principle Keeper of the Department of Printed Books 1959-1966, To Margaret Scheele (1959). British Library Corporate Archive, London, Box 545, B2 4296, row 5, shelf 1.

These were set amongst the backdrop of the famous collection of Enlightenment books assembled by King George III. This exhibition was commended in *The Times* for its wide-ranging and varied exhibits.<sup>88</sup> The great variety of exhibits reflected the large amount of contributions from various departments of the museum, other museums and other notable individuals. This notably included a rare manuscript (the *Shāh-Jahān nama*) from the royal collection and a map from the Marquess of Salisbury. Other organisations also lent exhibits; five from the National Maritime Museum, two from the Council of the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London, and one from the Master and Fellows of Emmanuel College Cambridge. There were also four items lent personally by Charles Boxer, and one from Armando Cortesão.<sup>89</sup> The organisation of material changed only slightly from the initial proposal, the curators opting to display items mostly according to their geographic position rather than the date.<sup>90</sup> The King's library, where the exhibition took place, is a fairly small space. Judging by the number of exhibits, it was likely to be a cramped space. This exhibition was up and running when the Royal Geographical Society held their conference on the Portuguese discoveries, and the delegates were encouraged to attend.<sup>91</sup>

The exhibition catalogue was prefaced with a Foreword by the Museum's Director, Sir Frank Charlton Francis, who was thought by some to favour other departments at the Museum than Printed Books from whose ranks he climbed to the top.<sup>92</sup> The exhibition itself was separated into five sections including; Discovery and Conquest (in which were included a sec-

88 For a full list of items on display, see R.A. Skelton, *Prince Henry the Navigator and Portuguese Maritime Enterprise; Catalogue of an Exhibition at the British Museum September – October 1960* (London: British Museum, 1960); the exhibition review is "Prince Henry The Navigator," *The Times*, September 1, 1960, 12.

89 R.A. Skelton, *Prince Henry the Navigator and Portuguese Maritime Enterprise; Catalogue of an Exhibition at the British Museum September – October 1960* (London: British Museum, 1960).

90 "Sept/Oct HENRY THE NAVIGATOR and Portuguese Maritime Enterprise. An exhibition of printed books, charts, plans, and other illustrative material to mark the fifth centenary of the death of Prince Henry of Portugal, surnamed the Navigator," in *British Library Corporate Archive*: Box 545, B2 4296, Row 5, Shelf 1.

91 *Ibidem*.

92 See Francis's Obituary in *The Times*, September 16, 1988, 20.

tion on Prince Henry, Camões and publication of the Portuguese Discoveries); Settlement and Commerce (organised geographically according to the parts of the world settled), missionary enterprise; nautical science and cartography, and finally a section on Portugal and England. Some key individuals and moments were brought out such as Camões (who had already been the subject of an exhibition held at the British Institute in Lisbon in June of that year and from whose *Lusíadas* the quote 'Por vias nunca usadas não temendo' was ascribed the exhibition's *leitmotif*), Amerigo Vespucci (although Florentine, not Portuguese), and the heroic defences at the repeated sieges of Diu (1531, 1538, 1546). The overall narrative largely tells a story of discovery and overseas establishment with very informative exhibition labels, and provided a kind of snapshot of various parts of this process. Henry is not presented merely as a figurehead of a movement rather than a private individual – the deeply personal and sensitive letter written by Henry to his father on 22 September 1428 reporting on the goings-on at the marriage of the heir to the throne D. Duarte to Leonor of Aragon is included as item 9, and there are also both contemporary facsimile (#7) and later idealised portraits of the man (#12).<sup>93</sup>

The final section of the exhibition entitled 'Portugal and England, 14th to 20th Centuries' presents an interesting story of continuous collaboration over the *langue durée*. The exhibition label explained that:

“During this long period they [Portugal and England] have been regulated by a series of treaties of friendship and alliance which, taken together, constitute the longest contractual engagement between two states in the diplomatic history of Europe, or indeed the world.”<sup>94</sup>

This was supported by a variety of trade agreements, diplomatic correspondence and marriage documents throughout the ages. The

93 R.A. Skelton, *Prince Henry the Navigator and Portuguese Maritime Enterprise; Catalogue of an Exhibition at the British Museum September – October 1960* (London: British Museum, 1960).

94 *Idem, ibidem*, 155.

exhibition finished with a parliamentary statement from Winston Churchill, which described the 600 engagement as ‘without parallel in world history.’<sup>95</sup> Evidently, the exhibition presented was one of friendship between nations and admiration of a rich maritime tradition over anything else. The catalogue of the British Museum exhibition, was published by the *Comissão das Comemorações*.

The exhibition itself was short and had limited impact outside of academic circles. As far as the general visitor was concerned, it essentially functioned as an interesting side-piece to the other exhibits in an otherwise larger British Museum. It served mostly as a recognition of the collaboration which had occurred between Portuguese and British academics, but went by fairly unnoticed from the public eye. Later exhibitions on Portugal included ‘Portugal and the Orient’ (Department of Manuscripts, 1971) and an exhibition marking five hundred years of Camões’ epic *Os Lusíadas* (Department of Printed Books and Department of Manuscripts, 1972).<sup>96</sup> This makes a striking contrast with a British Museum exhibition held in 1973 to mark ‘600 years of Anglo-Portuguese Alliance.’<sup>97</sup> This became a politicised affair and the scene of much commotion due to an official visit from the then Portuguese Prime Minister Marcelo Caetano.<sup>98</sup> His visit to the exhibition coincided with a walk-out of museum employees, a loud demonstration outside and received protest marches before and after his visit.<sup>99</sup> This comparison serves to illustrate some of the international pressure which had developed against the *Estado Novo* during this time. These pressures, both internal and external, came to dominate both diplomatic

95 Taken from *Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates*, 392 H.C. Deb. 5 s., coll. 716-17.

96 Called “Portugal and the Orient” (Dept. of Manuscripts) Jan-April 1971, and “Publication of the first edition of the Portuguese epic poem ‘Os Lusíadas’ by Camoens,” (Dept of Printed Books and Dept of Manuscripts) June-July 1972. From Joanna Bowring, “Chronology of Temporary Exhibitions at the British Museum,” in *British Museum Research* 189 (London: The British Museum, 2012).

97 See its catalogue *600 Years of Anglo-Portuguese Alliance* (London: British Museum, 1973).

98 See Norrie MacQueen and Pedro Aires Oliveira, “‘Grocer meets Butcher’: Marcello Caetano’s London visit of 1973 and the last days of Portugal’s *Estado Novo*”, *Cold War History* 10, n.<sup>o</sup>1 (2010): 29-50.

99 Pedro Aires Oliveira, “Generous Albion? Portuguese anti-Salazarists in the United Kingdom, c.1960–74,” *Portuguese Studies* 27 (2011): 203.

relations and the wider public discourse surrounding this commemorative cycle. In 1960, these pressures were only starting to show.

### **The effects of a divisive political backdrop: deteriorating Anglo-Portuguese relations over the 1960s**

There had been a somewhat ambivalent attitude to the dictatorial, even 'totalitarian', elements of the *Estado Novo* from the British government from the time of the Second World War. An absence of criticism has previously been noted by historians looking at British relations with Portugal at this time. Here, Britain's strategic interests took precedent, and Portugal was co-opted from neutrality into a 'neutral collaboration.'<sup>100</sup> But the criticism returned; in the build up to the 1959 British Trade Fair in Lisbon fair, Harold Macmillan was criticised in parliament for his willingness to support a 'totalitarian government.' His defence was that they were always under pressure to increase trade, that Portugal was their oldest ally and that 'trade is one thing and ideological points of view may be another.'<sup>101</sup> Through this period, Salazar was able to stand out as something of a 'good' dictator.<sup>102</sup> There certainly was a sense from the Foreign Office that supporting him, rather than alternative elements in Portugal, was in Britain's best interest. Writing on the celebrations of Salazar's 70<sup>th</sup> birthday in April 1960, the ambassador Charles Stirling wrote that

"In a world in which national anniversaries and birthdays of national leaders are so often celebrated with demonstrations of military power, it is refreshing to find the main

100 David Corkhill and José Carlos Pina Almeida, "Commemoration and Propaganda in Salazar's Portugal: The Mundo Português Exposition of 1940," *Journal of Contemporary History* 44, n.<sup>o</sup> 3 (2009).

101 <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1959/feb/12/british-trade-fair-lisbon>.

102 The most recent biography of Salazar, by Filipe Ribeiro de Meneses, follows this line of de-linking Salazar from totalitarianism as evident in the lack of mass mobilization, the moderate nature of Portuguese nationalism, the careful and ultimately apolitical selection of the narrow elite who ran the country, the rejection of violence as a means of transforming society, and the absence of a "strong party behind the leader." Filipe Ribeiro de Meneses, *Salazar: A Political Biography* (New York: Enigma Books, 2009).

tributes to a man who has ruled his country for thirty years in the form of bunches of flowers brought by thousands of women.”<sup>103</sup>

Yet there was an underlying sense of pessimism about the regime from the British Foreign Office. Their annual review of Portugal for 1959 wrote of a ‘troubled atmosphere,’ ‘a sense of insecurity’ and a ‘sensation of nervousness’ in the first four months of the year. This was caused by the after-effects of the political challenges of Delgado in 1958, rumours that Salazar would resign on his 70<sup>th</sup> birthday, and a *coup d’état* from officers which ‘had been nipped in the bud.’<sup>104</sup> The Foreign Office kept a track of Delgado in following years.<sup>105</sup> The internal instability revealed itself again the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the Portuguese republic, which took place in October 1960.<sup>106</sup> This anniversary took place alongside anti-government demonstrations and clashes with the police.<sup>107</sup> While censored in the Portuguese press, photos of police beating protesters were printed by the *Daily Telegraph*.<sup>108</sup> This was one of many critical pieces on Portugal to feature in the British press between 1959 and 1960.<sup>109</sup>

103 Report from C.N. Stirling (British Ambassador, Lisbon) to Selwyn Lloyd, (Foreign Secretary), RP 1961, 5<sup>th</sup> May, 1959. in “Anniversaries and celebrations in Portugal (1959),” *The National Archives*: FO 371/144859.

104 C.N. Stirling, annual review for 1959, to Foreign Office, London, 5<sup>th</sup> January, 1960, in “Annual Review for 1959,” *The National Archives*., FO 371/153098

105 After comments from Delgado on the Portuguese regime made the press, there were voices in the Foreign Office which were concerned that he might have been pushing the general hospitality which Britain traditionally showed to political dissidents in foreign countries. in *The National Archives*: “Visits to UK,” FO 371/153142. See also “Proposed conference in London of Portuguese exiles and General Delgado,” FO 371/160250.

106 See José Miguel Sardica, “The Memory of the Portuguese First Republic throughout the Twentieth Century,” *e-JPH* 9, n.<sup>o</sup> 1 (2011): 76-82.

107 The literature often points to the importance of student movements during this time. See Guya Accornero, *The Revolution Before the Revolution: Late Authoritarianism and Student Protest in Portugal* (London: Berghahn Books, 2016). Also Miguel Cardina, “On student movements in the decay of the Estado Novo,” *Portuguese Journal of Social Science* 7, n.<sup>o</sup> 3 (2008): 151-64.

108 See *Daily Telegraph*, October 8, 1960.

109 See for example Patrick Smith, “Light and Shade in Dr. Salazar’s Portugal,” *The Listener*, July 9, 1959; “Decaying Regime,” *The Times* April 25, 1959; “What Britain Can Do For Portugal,” *The Times*, November 27, 1959.

Existing historiography tends to be drawn towards the endgame of the *Estado Novo*, diagnosed via the rapidly changing and uncertain situation in Portugal. Uncertainty was voiced through the Foreign Office including both internal factors relating to the *Estado Novo*'s survival, and external factors in its overseas territories, and particularly Africa. Britain had its own experience on decolonisation, one which had been openly embraced at a far earlier date in India (15 August 1947), and the resulting ideological differences put a considerable strain on Anglo-Portuguese relations. This issue of decolonisation formed an almost permanent backdrop to Anglo-Portuguese engagement, as well as the message of the commemorations themselves.<sup>110</sup>

The most worrying and damaging actions for Anglo-Portuguese relations came from the external arena. Portugal came under considerable international pressure in the UN general assembly from September 1960.<sup>111</sup> We have mentioned the situation in Angola and Guiné Bissau. This was compounded by a massacre at Mueda in northern Mozambique on 16 June 1960, where a number of demonstrators were shot.<sup>112</sup> Criticism along the lines of decolonisation came to bite, which was high on the agenda given the recent happenings in parts of Africa and Portugal, which was lined up for the candidacy for the western European security council seat to replace Italy, lost votes from four major allies and were ultimately unsuccessful. According to the Foreign Office, this was due to the lobbying of 'Afro-Asians' and particularly Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, on the cusp of authorising the invasion of Goa.<sup>113</sup> Furthermore, the US put pressure on

110 Pedro A. Oliveira, "Live and Let Live: Britain and Portugal's Imperial Endgame (1945–75)," *Portuguese Studies* 29, n.º 2 (2013): 186–208. Also Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and António Costa Pinto, "The International and the Portuguese Imperial Endgame: Problems and Perspectives," *Portuguese Studies* 29, n.º 2 (2013): 137–41.

111 15<sup>th</sup> Session, New York. For more information and a catalogue of proceedings and resolutions, url: <<https://research.un.org/en/docs/ga/quick/regular/15>>.

112 This encouraged support for the independent guerilla organization FRELIMO and is often seen as an important catalyst in the beginning of the wars in Mozambique. Malyn Newitt, *A History of Mozambique* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 521.

113 Britain voted in Portugal's favour. Report from Charles Stirling (British ambassador, Lisbon) to Foreign Office, London, *The National Archives*: "Annual Review for 1960," FO 371/160725. At the International Court of Justice, The Hague, India had been pressing a case for Goa. This had ruled largely in Portugal's favour. See "Right of Passage over Indian Territory (Portugal v. India)," International Court of Justice, The Hague, url <<https://www.icj-cij>.



Portugal, although Portugal tried to put forward the case that they were entitled to more NATO support because their overseas possessions should be seen as an asset to the alliance.<sup>114</sup> This pressure ultimately resulted in the humiliating UN general resolution which affirmed the ‘Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples’ (14 December 1960).<sup>115</sup> Salazar’s stubborn rejection of independence movements in Africa culminated in the outbreak of a guerrilla war in Angola in 1961, which was censored by both the United States and the United Kingdom in United Nations’ resolutions.<sup>116</sup>

The potential damage to Anglo-Portuguese relations was continually noted within the Foreign Office, and it was the subject of much discussion. C.N. Stirling (British ambassador to Portugal 1955-1960) wrote a bleak memorandum on to the question of Anglo-Portuguese relations the day after attending the closing religious ceremony at the Batalha monastery. He suggested three possible ways forward: the first being to “...write off Portugal as an ally in the interests of our African policy.” This he argued was risky given the effects on other NATO allies but also required thought on “...what steps we should take to divest ourselves of our legal obligations under the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance.” The second option was to avoid any commitment, and the third was to “...treat the Afro-Asians on this point as though they were adults...and tell them frankly where we stand.”<sup>117</sup> None of these courses of action were particularly favourable, but he admitted that “We should at least have a clear cut policy.”<sup>118</sup>

org/en/case/32?fbclid=IwAR1wx9WpheuMx7TrCgBleZbkLcNXAduhxYlys7lO5Ja2CbV4AV8unO-DhNfY> [Acc April 2019].

114 As summarised in C.N. Stirling, “Annual Review for 1959” to Foreign Office, London, in *The National Archives*: FO 371/153098.

115 The full declaration can be found on the UN website: <<https://www.un.org/en/decolonization/declaration.shtml>> [Acc. Feb 2019].

116 Historians have given various reasons for this, ranging from the elite’s lack of vision for an exit strategy, to the dictatorial nature of the state. See, for example, an interview with Salazar in the 4 May 1962 issue of the New York-based *Life* magazine, A.O. Salazar, *Portuguese Problems in Africa: Complete Version of the Interview Granted by the Portuguese Prime Minister to ‘Life’: The Only Version Approved for Publication* (Lisbon: Secretariado Nacional de Informação, 1962) 6.

117 This ‘third course’ was based on the case that; the Portuguese are their allies, and though their system of government is different, it is not inherently immoral, and in the Portuguese territories the people have good chances of prosperity unlike many other parts of the world.

118 Letter from C.N. Stirling (British ambassador, Lisbon) to A.D. Wilson (Assistant under-secretary



R.G. Sarell, Head of the Southern Department, was consistently appreciative and clear of the importance of Portugal to the UK. On several occasions he wrote to his colleagues stressing the importance of Portugal.

“Portugal is not only this country’s oldest ally. She is a fellow member of NATO and EFTA. The Federation of British Industries last year organised a trade fair in Portugal, this showing the importance attached to Anglo-Portuguese trade. It is therefore important that something should be done to demonstrate H.M.G.’s continuing faith in the value of Anglo-Portuguese relations to offset the damage in New York.”<sup>119</sup>

Sarell insisted that Britain should find ways of supporting Portugal outside of colonial matters generally. In a letter of 30<sup>th</sup> December, marked secret, he tried to take the measure of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, explaining that:

“The actual terms of the Alliance bear no relation to the present day conditions...I realise fully the difficulties to which this policy must give rise, not least to our embassy at Lisbon. It will also constantly face us with disagreeable decisions. This, I think, we can only accept, while trying to minimise the harm which flows from it.”<sup>120</sup>

Explaining ‘the need to retain Portuguese goodwill’, Sarell suggested multiple ideas. This included; further reciprocal visits by government ministers, a visit of ships of the Royal Navy to Portuguese

for foreign affairs) November 14<sup>th</sup> 1960. RP 1051/6. in *The National Archives*: “Political Relations with UK,” FO 371/153111.

119 Letter from R.F.G. Sarell to J.D. Murray, 9<sup>th</sup> November, 1960. RP 1051/5. in *The National Archives*: “Political Relations with UK,” FO 371/153111.

120 Letter from R.F.G. Sarell to J.D. Murray, 6<sup>th</sup> December, 1960. RP 1051/6. in *The National Archives*: “Political Relations with UK,” FO 371/153111.

ports which could be reciprocated, entertainment of Portuguese officials passing through London, invitations to leading Portuguese industrialists and economic ministers, loan finance for the Portuguese development plan or further reductions on the duties on heavy wines to foster the port trade.<sup>121</sup>

Two direct ministerial visits were consequently held during this commemorative period. In the spring of 1960, the Portuguese minister for foreign affairs visited London for three days.<sup>122</sup> Dr Marcello Mathias' visit was reported in *The Times*, where together with his counterpart, Selwyn Lloyd, African matters, and trade were addressed in a 'frank and comprehensive exchange'.<sup>123</sup> Mathias met the Prime Minister, President of the Board of Trade and the Minister of State at the Colonial Office. Part of the program included a visit to the British museum to see exhibits connected with Henry the Navigator. This was a few months before Skelton's exhibition officially opened.

The Portuguese goodwill Sarell spoke of was also retained through engagement with the Anglo-Portuguese Society in London. This was founded in 1958 and was closely associated with Portuguese diplomats.<sup>124</sup> In an unusual gesture, the new Secretary of State, Lord Alec Douglas-Home, delivered a speech at the society's annual dinner on 8<sup>th</sup> December 1960. Reasons for the attendance were part diplomatic; continuing the positive engagement from the Henrique commemorations. But it also appears that there was pressure from the society's secretary Mr Short on the Foreign Office. As director of overseas operations of the English Electric Company, Mr Short was interested in a bid for the large hydroelectric schemes on offer through Portugal's six-year development plan. In any case, the Foreign Office decided that: 'The

121 Letter from R.F.G. Sarell to J.D. Murray, 9<sup>th</sup> November, 1960. RP 1051/5. in *The National Archives*: "Political Relations with UK," FO 371/153111.

122 This took place between 8<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> March 1960 including travel arrangements. For a comprehensive account of the organisation and visit itself, see "Visit by Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs." in *The National Archives*: FO 371/153114.

123 "Trade With Portugal To Be Studied," *The Times*, March 12, 1960.

124 For more information on the Anglo-Portuguese society and their history, see url: <<https://www.apsociety.co.uk/>> [Acc January 2019].

presence of the new Secretary of State at the Societies would thus be particularly opportune and would certainly be very welcome to the Society and to friends of this country in Portugal.<sup>125</sup> Douglas-Home's speech drew on Anglo-Portuguese common interests, spoke of 'centuries of friendship' and suggested 1960 as a positive year for the society, when the Foreign minister was in London, and a year which "has reminded us that in 1460, Henry the Navigator [...] was a grandson of an English Princess – so far back have our ties gone..." "All of us will know", it concluded, "that we have in you a staunch and steadfast friend."<sup>126</sup> Abranches Pinto, the Ambassador sent a letter of sincere thanks to Home afterwards.<sup>127</sup>

This 'continuous' political friendship continued to deteriorate, however, over the 1960s.<sup>128</sup> In part this was due to the differing attitude towards decolonisation in England and Portugal, and Salazar's stubborn rejection of independence movements in Africa: in 1963, the Angolan rebellion, having attracted outside interference from militantly socialist states like Cuba, spread to Guinea Bissau.<sup>129</sup> It is quite telling that Salazar called upon the British alliance in the run-up to an Indian invasion of the Goan colony in 1961 to ask Britain for staging facilities for Portuguese reinforcements sailing to India. The answer came late and anyway was negative. Britain's excuse was its own commitments to the Commonwealth, which prevented them from acting against India. A third flashpoint issue followed on from the new Labour government's banning of certain arms to Portugal in 1964, and the suspicion that arms were making their way from Mozambique and Angola into Ian Smith's Rhodesia following his Unilateral Declaration of Independence

125 E.J.W. Barnes, (signed also by A.G.M. Ross) on the Anglo-Portuguese Society dinner, 25<sup>th</sup> August, 1960, RP 1051/3. in "Political Relations with UK," *The National Archives*, FO 371/153111.

126 Secretary of State's Speech at the Anglo-Portuguese Society Dinner on December 8, 1960, RP 1051/7. in "Political Relations with UK," *The National Archives*, FO 371/153111.

127 Letter from Abranches Pinto to Home, 13<sup>th</sup> December, 1960. RP 1051/9. in "Political Relations with UK," *The National Archives*, FO 371/153111.

128 *600 Years of Anglo-Portuguese Alliance* (London: British Museum, 1973) 7, 15.

129 BBC Documentary *Cuba! Africa! Revolution!* [published on youtube October 14, 2017].

in 1965.<sup>130</sup> The upshot was the nationalisation of the British financed Lisbon Tramway Co. and the Anglo-Portuguese telephone company, the stoning of the British Council's headquarters and burning of Union Jack flags, a leaflet campaign to boycott British goods and the British Embassy's being flooded with white feathers (a symbol of cowardice).

Sometime during the 1960s, collaboration between Portuguese and British history academics also appears to have been stifled. It would be wrong though to suggest that this was entirely to do with international politics, although we do find British artists like F. E. McWilliams pulling out of a collaborative modern art exhibition in Portugal which was supported by the Gulbenkian Foundation and the British Council in 1962 as a protest against Portuguese violence in Angola.<sup>131</sup> The conclusion of the state-sponsored publication of Portuguese anthologies and histories had the largest impact on this dissipation. The commission, which had always been a temporary affair, officially disbanded along with the associated funding from the Portuguese state once the main projects were finished. There were also financial strains on the state from the colonial wars to consider.



Figure 10. The British Art of the Twentieth Century exhibition: paintings by Francis Bacon, Roger Hilton (in the background) and Graham Sutherland. Oporto, Museu Nacional de Soares dos Reis, 1962 (© Tate, London 2012).

130 A good summary of these events is in Hugh Kay, "The Anglo-Portuguese alliance in the 20<sup>th</sup> century," in *600 Years of Anglo-Portuguese Alliance*, 44-48.

131 Leonor de Oliveira, "Politics, Diplomatic Relations and Institutional Promotion through Modern Art – The British Art of the Twentieth Century Exhibition in Portugal, 1962," in *RIHA Journal* 0072, 19 July 2013, §75.

Moving forward in scholarship required significant time from the broader academic community to dissect and make use of these large works: perhaps the most significant exercise of taking stock was that conducted by Pierre Chaunu, author of *L'Expansion européenne du XIIIe au XVe siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969), with an English translation following ten years later in 1979. Despite continuing British contributions to the historiography of the Portuguese discoveries during these years, Anglo-Saxon scholarship was quite laggard in embracing the exciting new methods and approaches of continental historians: the work of the French *Annales* school, of which Victorino Magalhães Godinho was the strongest proponent concerning the Discoveries, only came on to the horizon with systematic English translations from the late 1960s, for example.<sup>132</sup> The rapid growth of the university sector in Britain meant far larger students cohorts to teach.<sup>133</sup> There was also an increase in interest toward Portuguese studies during this time, represented by numerous university appointments in Britain and increased engagement in Lisbon from the British Council.<sup>134</sup>

In any case, the academic collaboration does not appear to have been reciprocated from Portugal. This can be seen for example in the lack of Portuguese contributions of the *Imago Mundi*, which by this point had established itself as the leading international journal on the history of cartography. Between 1935 and 2010 they had only seven Portuguese contributions among many other international contributions.<sup>135</sup> This is despite funding from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation since the early 1960s, and the fact that Portuguese navigation remained a popular topic. Cortesão, Skelton and Crone were editors

132 George Huppert, "The *Annales* Experiment," in Michael Bentley, *Companion to Historiography* (London/New York: Routledge, 1997), 873-74.

133 Thomas William Heyck, "The idea of a university in Britain, 1870-1970," in *History of European Ideas*, vol. 8 (1987), 215; Malcolm Tigh, *The Development of Higher Education in the United Kingdom since 1945* (London: Open University Press, 2009), 61.

134 Largely a result of the expansion of higher education sector, and the growth in student numbers. See Malcolm Tigh, *The Development of Higher Education in the United Kingdom since 1945* (London: Open University Press, 2009).

135 Matthew H. Edney, "A Content Analysis of *Imago Mundi*, 1935-2010," *Imago Mundi* 66 (2014): 107-31.

and managers of the journal by 1962. There was continued optimism in historic cartography and its international networks, as demonstrated in an international symposium in 1964 which organised by editors of the *Imago Mundi*.<sup>136</sup> Skelton went on to help with other British Museum exhibitions including ‘The Mapping of Britain, 13<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Centuries’ (1964).<sup>137</sup> In these years Skelton maintained correspondence with a huge array of international scholars and this is most notable within his papers.<sup>138</sup>

As for other Portuguese-based initiatives promoting international engagement, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation must be mentioned. Named after its founder, who bequeathed his assets in the form of the foundation, the organisation was created in 1956 primarily to promote intercultural engagement. Upon its founding, branch offices were established quickly in London (1956) and a cultural centre in Paris (1965).<sup>139</sup> This foundation invested hugely in the artistic field, particularly in contemporary art.<sup>140</sup> In 1962, in association with the British Council, the foundation organised a contemporary art exhibition entitled ‘British Art of the Twentieth Century’ in various Portuguese cities. However, many artists pulled out of the exhibitions owing to the controversial politics of the *Estado Novo* and their engagements

136 C. Koeman, “Symposium on the History of Cartography Held at the XXth Congress of the International Geographical Union in London, 17-18 July 1964,” *Imago Mundi* 19 (1965): 9.

137 Although there is little to suggest direct involvement through his papers, he kept a newspaper clipping of the event. Also, considering the subject matter and the position he held at the British Library, it is almost certain he had a role to play in this exhibition. Alberta Auringer Wood, *Professional Papers, Correspondence, Etc. of Raleigh Ashlin (Peter) Skelton 1906-1970*, (St. John’s, Nfld. : The University, 1989).

138 Auringer Wood, “*Professional papers, correspondence, etc. of Raleigh Ashlin (Peter) Skelton (1906-1970)*,” (St. John’s, Nfld. : The University, 1989).

139 “Our Story,” UK Branch, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Online, url: <<<https://gulbenkian.pt/uk-branch/about-us/story/>>>; Robert Hewison and John Holden, *Experience and Experiment: The UK Branch of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1956-2006* (London: Gulbenkian Foundation, 2006); José de Azeredo Perdigão, *Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. Chairman’s Report III* (1 January 1963 – 31 December 1965) (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1967).

140 Its first act in the UK was to grant Durham University £60,000 to build the Museum of Oriental Art and Archaeology in 1957. In the same year it granted £75,000 to the Royal College of Art. Their grants to British institutions are regularly listed in British newspapers of this time. See also Leonor de Oliveira, “Exposições: construir a história da arte (1957-1961),” in *SIAM. Series Iberoamericanas de Museologia* 6 (2012): 101-10.

in Africa.<sup>141</sup> In the years that followed, the foundation continued to be an active proponent of cultural engagement between Portugal and other international partners. During the commemorations in 1960 though, the Gulbenkian Foundation spent a great deal of its time and energy in France. They arranged an exhibition of Gulbenkian's pictures at his house in Paris, and were engaged in negotiations with the government to move all the collections to Lisbon.<sup>142</sup>

There was an implicit authority in the narrative presented for the commemorations and at times this authority could be quite direct. The work written by Godinho to coincide with the commemorations in 1960, was initially rejected by the committee that had endorsed it in 1962.<sup>143</sup> Zealous historians could also be quick to defend accusations against the established narrative. In Peter Russell's Canning House lecture in 1960, he doubted Henry's place as a champion of navigational science in the famed Sagres school.<sup>144</sup> This was controversial enough that, as Peter Russell later claimed, the *Comissão das Comemorações* bought up the remaining printed copies for destruction.<sup>145</sup> Charles Boxer, the foremost British scholar of the Portuguese overseas empire, was notably quiet about the *Infante Dom Henrique* during the commemorations. In 1963 he released a monograph *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire 1415-1825* (Oxford University Press:1963). In it he challenged the notion that the Portuguese empire was 'colourblind', and that it did not invariably present a picture of harmonious integra-

141 Leonor de Oliveira, "Politics, Diplomatic Relations and Institutional Promotion through Modern Art – The British Art of the Twentieth Century Exhibition in Portugal, 1962," *RIHA Journal* 0072 (2013).

142 "Gulbenkian Collection Exhibits in Paris," *The Times*, October 7, 1960. See also information on the Gulbenkian Foundation website: url: <<https://gulbenkian.pt/museu/en/the-founders-collection/about-the-collection/>> [Acc. Feb 2019].

143 The work was called *A economia dos Descobrimentos Henriquinos* (The Economy of the Discoveries with Prince Henry the Navigator). Luís Adão da Fonseca, "Vitorino Magalhães Godinho," *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 12 (2014).

144 P.E. Russell, *Prince Henry the Navigator, Canning House Seventh Annual Lecture* (London: The Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Councils, 1960). Also discussed in P.E. Russell, *Prince Henry the Navigator: the rise and fall of a culture hero* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

145 Stefan Halikowski Smith, "Obituary: Sir Peter E.L. Russell," *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 5, n.º 1 (2007).



tion.<sup>146</sup> This challenged ongoing sociological thought in Portugal and Brazil, particularly the ideas of ‘Luso-tropicalism’ and Gilberto Freyre.

The arguments between historians were, quite unusually, thrust into the limelight. Cortesão, who was once a close friend, launched public attacks at Boxer for his comments. They featured in both Portuguese and British press, set to a political backdrop of other colonial problems. This included headlines such as; ‘Dr. Boxer and Dr. Salazar slug it out’ (*Financial Times*), and ‘de Lusófilo honesto, a Lusófobo de má-fé ou a reviravolta do Professor Boxer’ (*Diário Popular*).<sup>147</sup> Boxer responded publicly with an article written in Portuguese and addressed to Cortesão, published by the *Diário Popular*.<sup>148</sup> He sent a copy and a personal note to Sidney George West, former head of department of Portuguese at King’s College London (1936-1941) and Boxer’s colleague. In it he explained that, despite the fear of making ‘matters worse’, he ‘must not ignore Cortesão’s attacks’. He explained:

“I don’t know if they will print it, as in this present hysterical mood they would rather treat the matter as an affair of personalities than as a sober historical controversy. But, like Luther, “here I stand; I can no other.””<sup>149</sup>

These debates continued well into the years following the commemorations. Although they took place largely outside of the scope of the commemorations, the academic initiatives from the commemorations exposed Portuguese scholarship to a much wider and interna-

146 See Charles Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire 1415-1825* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963).

147 English translation: “From an honest Lusophile to a Lusophobe full of bad faith: the changing face of Professor Boxer.” Newspaper articles: Observer, “Dr. Boxer and Dr. Salazar slug it out,” *Financial Times*, June 25, 1964, and “De Lusófilo honesto, a Lusófobo de má-fé ou a reviravolta do Professor Boxer,” *Diário Popular*, December 27, 1963.

148 C.R. Boxer, “Resposta a Artigos de Armando Cortesão,” *Diário Popular*, January 24, 1964.

149 C.R. Boxer, A note sent to Sidney George West headed: “Dear George,” 20<sup>th</sup> January 1964, Received 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1964. Copy in “BOXER, Professor Charles Ralph (1904-2000),” *College Archives*, King’s College London: KCLCA K/PP78.

tional readership. The resulting debate, although often censored by the state, helped to modernise the history of the *descobrimentos*.

## Conclusions

We have argued in this paper that there is value in studying commemoration from an outside perspective. It is based on the idea that commemoration was an international affair; performed as a national story which is both defined against others and supported by others through participation. The *Henrique* commemorations are unique for the varied military, diplomatic and academic initiatives; the climax of which was the international naval review and inauguration of the *Padrão dos Descobrimentos* in August 1960. British participation was marked primarily through participation in the naval review and close cooperation between academics. As far as the British government was concerned, the case for participation was twofold. There was an economic argument in the prospect of further trade through the EFTA, and prospects for foreign investment through the six year development plan. There was also the argument for close military cooperation based on membership of NATO and Portugal's strategic maritime location. Good diplomatic relations enabled this Anglo-Portuguese engagement. British diplomats had become accustomed to celebrating the achievements of their allies and their participation is not surprising.

Taking the idea of participation broadly allowed us to include a variety of actors in the mix. It has been demonstrated that academics were important agents for exchange and collaboration between Britain and Portugal during the commemorative period. These were, most of the time, the result of personal networks and professional connections. In Portugal, the state used its strong ideological links in academia in order to promote a cultural narrative with an implicit authority. These links help to explain the significance attached to academic publications and other academic initiatives within the program of commemorations. The methods of selection in the publications can be shown to respect academic criteria of excellence and relevance, but they also

continued a tradition in historiography focused on a ‘golden age’ that is difficult to overturn in scholarship. British collaboration provided some outlets for international research, and the history of the *descobrimentos* was made more accessible through a variety of research-oriented publications.

We have suggested that following the Henrician Quincentenary, collaboration between Portuguese and British history academics appears to have been stifled. More generally too, however Portuguese centenaries seem to have lost their momentum. The celebrations for Pedro Álvares Cabral (1968) and Vasco da Gama (1969), for example were modest by comparison. Cultural engagement after the Henrique commemorations was increasingly conducted through organisations such as the Gulbenkian Foundation and the British Council, rather than directly through the state. 1960 represents something of a critical moment for the *Estado Novo*. The pressures which surfaced during this time are certainly visible through the perilous diplomatic relations, and the deteriorating situation of Portugal was discussed with much vigour amongst diplomats in Britain. The driver for this conversation was the treatment of Portugal at the UN from the opening of the general assembly in September 1960. After this time the public discourse also became more fractious and this is clearly demonstrated in the debates from prominent academics which made the press.

The best summary of the commemorations from a British perspective comes from the British Ambassador to Portugal, Charles Stirling. He left his post shortly after the religious ceremony at the Batalha Monastery which closed the commemorations on 13<sup>th</sup> November, 1960. Just before he retired from his long and distinguished career in the Foreign Office, he managed to finish the customary annual review for 1960. His attitude sums up the general feeling in the British government toward these commemorations and ultimately, their value. In his annual report, he reminded the Foreign Office of the:

“evident desire of the Government to make the régime more popular. It is perhaps typical of the sentimental na-

ture of the Portuguese that they should have apparently resorted for this purpose to an appeal to romantic nationalism.

He went on:

“Innumerable ‘acts of homage’ culminated in a visit by the President of Brazil who presided jointly with the President of the Republic over an international Naval Review. Some people said at the time, and I was inclined to agree with them, that it was a scandal to waste so much money on ceremonial in a poor country, but it may be that Dr. Salazar knows his people best, for now that it is all over, it would almost appear that the concentrated speechifying, drum-beating and flag-waving have in fact drawn the Portuguese closer together and made them, if anything, a little more united than they have been in recent years.”<sup>150</sup>

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150 FO 371/153098 “Annual Review for 1959” (Although named 1959 it covers the year 1960)  
21<sup>st</sup> Dec 1960 by C.n. Stirling and sent to Home.

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